

PAPERS FROM THE SOCIETY
FOR THE
Diffusion of Political Knowledge.

OVATION AT THE ACADEMY OF MUSIC.

SPEAKERS.

Governor H. SEYMOUR,

Ex-Governor T. H. SEYMOUR,

Governor PARKER, N. J.

Hon. G. H. PENDLETON, Ohio,

RICHARD O'GORMAN, Esq.

Henry Laurens was President of the Continental Congress in 1779. In 1780 he was sent as Minister to Holland. On his way he was captured, and imprisoned in the Tower of London for fourteen months. When Lord Shelburne became Premier, Laurens was brought up, on Habeas Corpus, and released. After his release, he was treated with great kindness and respect by the British authorities. He dined with Lord Shelburne. After dinner, the conversation turned on the separation of the two countries. Lord Shelburne remarked:

"I AM SORRY FOR YOUR PEOPLE." "WHY SO?" ASKED LAURENS. "THEY WILL LOSE THE HABEAS CORPUS," WAS THE REPLY. "LOSE THE HABEAS CORPUS!" SAID LAURENS. "YES," SAID LORD SHELburne. "WE PURCHASED IT WITH CENTURIES OF WRANGLING, MANY YEARS OF FIGHTING, AND HAD IT CONFIRMED BY AT LEAST FIFTY ACTS OF PARLIAMENT. ALL THIS TAUGHT THE NATION ITS VALUE; AND IT IS SO INGRAINED INTO THEIR CREED, AS THE VERY FOUNDATION OF THEIR LIBERTY, THAT NO MAN OR PARTY WILL EVER DARE TRAMPLE ON IT. YOUR PEOPLE WILL PICK IT UP, AND ATTEMPT TO USE IT; BUT, HAVING COST THEM NOTHING, THEY WILL NOT KNOW HOW TO APPRECIATE IT. AT THE FIRST GREAT INTERNAL FEUD THAT YOU HAVE, THE MAJORITY WILL TRAMPLE UPON IT, AND THE PEOPLE WILL PERMIT IT TO BE DONE, AND SO WILL GO YOUR LIBERTY!"

Published Journal of Henry Laurens.

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READ—DISCUSS—DIFFUSE.

THE OVATION AT THE ACADEMY OF MUSIC
TO
GOVERNOR SEYMOUR,
AND THE OTHER ORATORS OF THE DAY.

It was in good taste that the Society which called Ex-Governor Seymour to open the campaign at the Cooper, and John Van Buren to open all eyes and lips by reading the letter of General Scott, should welcome Governor Seymour at his coming to set in order the defenses of our City and State. This Society contents itself with spreading political knowledge. Under the liberal patronage of a few princely seniors, *The Young Men's Democratic Association* has done a good year's service, and is fairly entitled to be placed on record at its first anniversary.

The celebration at the Academy of Music was conceived and arranged by the Nestor of the Society, Philip W. Engs, aided by the generosity of Mr. Loring Andrews, and others; and the details were gracefully executed by the President, the Hon. Luke F. Cozans, and other regular officials of the Society.

The audience was invited by tickets, and the invited came from every State. The house was filled to its entire capacity, and the music ruled the hour from one to two o'clock — the scene being graced by the presence of near one thousand ladies.

At two o'clock the Committee escorted the speakers to the front of the stage. The President named Mr. Engs as chairman of the meeting, and conducted him to his seat. There was no time for reading the letters of the absent, not even such as that of Mr. George S. Hillard. The Chairman called on C. Godfrey Gunther, Esq., to read the Declara-

tion of Independence. The indictment against the king moved the audience intensely by suggestive analogies.

Mr. Eli P. Norton, Chairman of the Committee on Correspondence, was then called on to read the Ten Commandments of the Constitution, which he prefaced as follows :

FELLOW-CITIZENS : It has been thought appropriate to the times in which we live, and to the day which we celebrate, that there should be read on this occasion those guarantees of the Constitution by which our fathers intended to secure for themselves and for us certain rights believed to be essential to the existence of free communities. These guarantees do not derive their sanctity alone from the fact that they are a portion of our written Constitution; they came to us hallowed by ages. Our Revolutionary ancestors and the people from whom we derive so many of our laws, maintained them with arms in their hands. The people of England, although under a monarchy, from the earliest period, have contended for that priceless privilege of being tried alone by a jury of their peers, and by the laws of the land. Magna Charta, the great charter, extorted from King John by the people of England six hundred and forty-eight years ago, provided, among other things, "that no subject should be exiled, or in any shape whatever molested, either in his person or effects, otherwise than by judgment of his peers, and according to the law of the land." In 1627, Charles I. of England violated this sacred provi-

sion of Magna Charta by repeated acts of arbitrary power. The people remonstrated with him; but he still persisted and declared, in a letter to Parliament that, "without the overthrow of sovereignty, he could not suffer the power of general commitment to be questioned." At once, those great lawyers Coke and Selden prepared that celebrated statute called the Petition of Right. The Petition of Right declared that the King had no right to make arbitrary arrests, and punish by military commissions. Although the King gave his written assent to that statute, he continued to violate it. The result of these violations, and the continuance of arbitrary arrests and trials by military commissions, was civil war, and the loss, by the King of England, of his head upon the scaffold. Sixty years after the adoption of the Petition of Right, Parliament, for the purpose of placing the liberties of the people of England upon a basis that could never be questioned, enacted the Bill of Rights. The material provisions of that Bill of Rights were ingrafted into the Constitutions of the American colonies

and American States, and are now in the Constitution of the United States. Our Constitution, my fellow-citizens, is not like the written Constitutions of the French, Mexican, and South-American Republics, which can be repeatedly changed without any shock to the habits and moral sense of the peoples they were intended to govern. The written Constitution of the United States constituted, in the proper sense, the essential institutions of the Republic. Its guarantees, indeed, are necessary to the life of American liberty. If they are permitted to be destroyed or suspended at the will of the Executive, American manhood will be lost, and the once proud and lofty American citizen will sink into the cringing subject of arbitrary power.

Those portions of the Constitution peculiarly appropriate to the present times were applauded to the echo.

When the "Hail Columbia" of the band subsided, Governor Seymour was introduced amidst cheers so loud and long continued, that nothing closed them but the clear and familiar tones of the speaker.

ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: When I accepted the invitation to speak, with others, at this meeting, we were promised the downfall of Vicksburgh, the opening of the Mississippi, the probable capture of the confederate capital and the exhaustion of the rebellion. By common consent, all parties had fixed upon this day when the results of the campaign should be known, to mark out that line of policy which they felt that our country should pursue. But in the moment of expected victory there came the midnight cry for help from Pennsylvania to save its despoiled fields from the invading foe; and almost within sight of this great commercial metropolis, the ships of your merchants were burned to the water's edge. Since that time to this, I have occupied every hour of my time, to the point of physical exhaustion, to rally our troops to the rescue of an adjoining sister State, (tremendous applause;) to or-

ganize the militia of our own State for defense, and to place New-York in that condition of dignity and power which a great State should ever hold that respects its own rights. (Great applause.) I have concerned myself with those measures that I thought best calculated to protect the commerce of this great city. I stand before you, then, upon this occasion, not as one animated by expected victories, but feeling as all feel who are now within the sound of my voice, the dread uncertainties of the conflicts which rage around us, not alone in Pennsylvania, but along the long line of the Mississippi—contests that are carrying down to bloody graves so many of our fellow-countrymen, so many of our friends—that are spreading renewed mourning throughout this great broad land. Under circumstances like these, I shall allow to go unnoticed many topics upon which I meant to speak at this

time. They might seem to jar with the solemnity of the occasion. They might not be in keeping with the feelings which now oppress us. But there is one subject to which even now I feel it my duty to call your attention. There is one appeal that I would now make to this whole community, irrespective of party, and I pray that you may hear that appeal.

A few years ago we stood before this community to warn them of the dangers of sectional strife, but our fears were laughed at. At a later day, when the clouds of war overhung our country, we implored those in authority to compromise that difficulty, for we had been told by the great orator and statesman, Burke, that there never yet was a revolution that might not have been prevented by a compromise opportunely and graciously made. (Great applause.) Our prayers were unheeded. Again, when the contest was opened, we invoked those who had the conduct of affairs not to underrate the power of the adversary—not to underrate the courage and resources and endurance of our own sister States. This warning was treated as sympathy with treason. You have the results of these unheeded warnings and unheeded prayers; they have stained our soil with blood; they have carried mourning into thousands of homes; and to-day they have brought our country to the very verge of destruction. Once more I come before you, to offer again an earnest prayer, and beg you to listen to a warning. Our country is not only at this time torn by one of the bloodiest wars that has ever ravaged the face of the earth; but, if we turn our faces to our own loyal States, how is it there? You find the community divided into political parties, strongly arrayed, and using with regard to each other terms of reproach and defiance. It is said by those who support more particularly the Administration, that we who differ honestly, patriotically, sincerely, from them with regard to the line of duty, are men of treasonable purposes and enemies to our country. ("Hear, hear.") On the other hand, the Democratic organization look upon this Administration as hostile to their

rights and liberties; they look upon their opponents as men who would do them wrong in regard to their most sacred franchises. I need not call your attention to the tone of the press or to the tone of public feeling, to show you how, at this moment, parties are thus exasperated, and stand in defiant attitudes to each other. A few years ago we were told that sectional strife, waged in words like these, would do no harm to our country; but you have seen the sad and bloody results. Let us be admonished now in time and take care that this irritation, this feeling which is growing up in our midst, shall not also ripen into civil troubles that shall carry the evils of war into our own homes. Upon one point all are agreed, and that is this: Until we have a united North we can have no successful war. Until we have a united, harmonious North we can have no beneficent peace. How shall we gain harmony? How shall the unity of all be obtained? Is it to be coerced? I appeal to you, my Republican friends, when you say to us that the nation's life and existence hangs upon harmony and concord here, if you yourselves, in your serious moments, believe that this is to be produced by seizing our persons, by infringing upon our rights, by insulting our homes, and by depriving us of those cherished principles for which our fathers fought, and to which we have always sworn allegiance? (Great applause.) I do appeal to you, my Republican friends, and beg that you will receive this appeal in the earnest, and patriotic spirit which prompts me to make it. I appeal to you if you are not doing yourselves and your country a great wrong, when you declare that harmony and unity of purpose are essential to save the nation's life, essential to the highest interests of our land, and yet stigmatize men, as true and honest as yourselves, and whom experience has proved to have been wiser, as men who do not love their country, and who are untrue to her interests? How, then, are we to get this indispensable harmony—this needed unity? It is not to be obtained by trampling upon rights; it is not to be obtained by threats; it is not to be ob-

tained by coercion; it is not to be obtained by attempting to close our lips when we would utter the honest purposes of our hearts and the firm convictions of our judgment.

But, my Republican friends, there is a mode by which it can be reached; there is a mode by which the nation's life can be saved; there is a mode by which, in the end, we will restore this Union of ours, and bring back those glorious privileges which were so wantonly thrown away. We come to you in no spirit of arrogance. We do not ask you to make any concession of advantage to us. On the contrary, we only say to you, holding in your hands and in your control almost all the political power of your country, to exercise it according to your chartered rights. (Tremendous applause.) We only ask that you shall give to us that which you claim for yourselves, and that which every freeman and every man who respects himself will have—freedom of speech, the right to exercise all the franchises conferred by the Constitution upon American citizens. (Great applause.) Can you safely deny us these? Will you not trample upon your own rights if you refuse to listen? Do you not create revolution when you say that our persons may be rightfully seized, our property confiscated, our homes entered? Are you not exposing yourselves, your own interests, to as great a peril as that with which you threaten us? Remember this, that the bloody, and treasonable, and revolutionary doctrine of public necessity can be proclaimed by a mob as well as by a government. (Applause.) Remember all the teachings of history; and we implore you, with regard to your own interests, to stop and inquire if you are not doing yourselves and your own families, and all that you hold dear to you, an infinite wrong when you sustain propositions that tear away from them, as well as from us, all the protections which the Constitution of your country has thrown around public liberty. (Great applause.) Can you tell when ambition, love of plunder, or thirst for power, will induce bad and dangerous

men to proclaim this very principle of public necessity as a reason why they should trample beneath their feet all the laws of our land? I ask you again to think if measures like these give power, dignity, or strength to our Government? I ask you, on the other hand, if those governments have not lived out the longest periods which, in times of public danger, instead of shrinking back from the principles of liberty and the barriers of order, have raised aloft these great principles, and battled under them, and thus given strength to the hearts of the people and gained the respect of the world. (Applause.) I ask you if it is not an evidence of weakness, defeat, and discomfiture, when, in the presence of armed rebellion, the Administration is compelled to assert that the very charter by which it holds its power has ceased to have a virtue that can protect a citizen in his rights? Suppose we accept this doctrine, what will be the consequences? To-day the great masses of conservatives who still battle for time-honored principles of government, amid denunciation, contumely, and abuse, are the only barriers that stand between this government and its own destruction. If we should acquiesce in the doctrine that in times of war constitutions are suspended and laws have lost their force, then we should accept a doctrine that the very right by which this Government administers its power has lost its virtue, and we would be brought down to the level of rebellion itself, having an existence only by virtue of material power. When men accept despotism they may have a choice as to who the despot shall be. The struggle then will not be, shall we have constitutional liberty? But having accepted the doctrine that the Constitution has lost its force, every instinct of personal ambition, every instinct of personal security, will lead men to put themselves under the protection of that power which they suppose most competent to guard their persons. And then this Administration would find that, in putting military rulers over us they had made military masters for themselves; for this war teaches us that the general who will be

tray the liberties of the people for the purpose of gaining the favor of power, will, when opportunity occurs, seize power itself. (Applause.) I came here to-day to appeal to you who may be politically opposed to us. Do not do yourselves a wrong. Do not do your own Administration a wrong, and push us from that position which we are trying to hold. Do not use abuse and contumely against our persons, and threats against our property, because we stand up to say that you, and we, and all shall have our rights; that your houses shall be sacred; and, in English parlance, that every man's home shall be his castle, within which he is safe from intrusion. (Applause.) Why, what is the glory of a people and the glory of a nation? It is not the magnitude of its power; it is not the extent of its dominions. It is the fact that the humblest home is safe under its protection. The proudest boast ever uttered by Britain's proudest statesmen was—not of martial achievements—not of the triumphs upon the field—not of that wonderful dominion upon which the sun never sets—no, it was this; that Britain's monarch could not enter unbidden the meanest home in the land, although its shattered walls might give its humble inmate but a scanty protection from the storms that howled around. (Great applause.) For what are governments constituted? Not for dominion, not for grandeur, but in order that every man should enjoy the rights of person and security of home, and freedom of conscience and the enjoyment of his property, subject to the laws. These are the great objects of government; and any system that comes short of this, fails in its objects; and any declaration that assails or endangers them is treason against human rights. (Applause.) But it is said that there is a law of necessity that, in times like these, suspends our Constitution—that war is unfavorable to liberty. It is not true. Liberty was born in war, it does not die in war. (Great applause.) Liberty was wrought out in the battle-field. That wonderful people who founded this great State—the Hollanders, who for eighty years battled against the martial laws

and martial power of Spain, made it a principle which sustained them during that long contest, and enabled them to render their history glorious in the annals of mankind. Were personal rights and personal liberties suspended by our own forefathers during our Revolutionary contest? You heard the words of that Declaration of Independence which said that men had a right to trial by jury; that the military authority should never be exalted above the civil jurisdiction; that men should not be transported abroad for trial, (tremendous applause;) that they should have all the privileges known to English jurisprudence and English law; and yet to-day we are told that the men who put forth that declaration amid the roar of battle, when our nation was struggling into existence in all its weakness, who declared that these rights were to be held sacred in war, that these men made a Constitution that dies and shrinks away in war—that men trained in the perils of revolution had formed a government, that was not equal to the very highest purposes for which governments are constituted. I tell you it is a libel upon our fathers. (Great applause.) So far from it being true that those who formed this Constitution contemplated that these powers should be suspended, you find in all these provisions particular care for all the exigencies of war; you find numerous provisions that are meant to guard against the very dangers that menace us. Your attention has been called to the fact by the gentleman who preceded me. Why was it that they so carefully protected all your rights amid public commotion, if they meant that the mere existence of disorder should suspend the Constitution and the laws? This doctrine of the suspension of the Constitution and of the laws, is unconstitutional, is unsound, is unjust, is treasonable! (Tremendous applause, and waving of hats and handkerchiefs. A voice: "That's just the word!")

I am full of hope for the future. Not that I underrate the dangers which threaten us, not that I do not deplore the terrible ravages of this war. But why does war rage in our land? It is

because this generation has lost the virtues, patriotism, and wisdom of their fathers. It is because we have become indifferent to those great truths which we have now laid before us as if they were curiosities in legal literature, instead of being principles that should be impressed upon the heart and mind of every American. Examine yourselves, and I ask you how many men there are within the sound of my voice who knew twelve months ago what the Constitution of this country was? I do not say that you did not understand it intellectually; that it was not imprinted upon your memory; that it had not received your assent; but it was not until we were made to feel, as our fathers felt, the value of this declaration, that they had put forth, that any of us could ever see the significance of the Constitution of our country and the Declaration of Independence. (Applause.) We have accepted it, as I said, mentally and intellectually; but why was it, when these familiar words sounded upon your ears on this occasion, as you have heard them often before on the anniversary of our country's liberty, that they stirred your very hearts within you, made your blood tingle in your veins? My friends, we have not now a mere intellectual knowledge of the Constitution; we do not give it now a mental support; we accept it with a vital, living piety that makes us better men and better patriots; and wherever you go, all over this land, you find these sentiments now exist in the minds of more than a majority of the American people. They are now fervent in their faith, fixed in their purpose—firm as if you please—for the great principles of liberty, and in their determination to see that those rights and liberties are established. (Great applause.) We have seen in our land two small parties, each an inconsiderable minority in the section of country where they existed, but men of purpose, men of zeal, men of fanaticism.

We have seen them wage a war upon the Constitution of our country with a persistence and power that has at last shaken it to its very foundation, and

brought us to-day to the very brink of national ruin. We have seen what zeal and purpose could do when it was opposed only by a dull mental acquiescence in great truths. What may we not hope that we may do when the great majority of the American people propose to maintain it at every cost and at every hazard? (Great applause.) Do you wish for peace? Do you wish for victory? Do you wish for the restoration of our national privileges? Here lies the pathway. Let the American people once learn the full value of their liberties, and the battle is fought and won. Without this, my friends, war can bring you no success, peace can give you no quiet. Until that takes place, war or peace are the mere incidents of the great underlying causes of convulsion which have affected our land, and shaken our institutions to the very centre. Your particular views may lead you to attribute it to one special cause or another; but there is one great underlying general cause of this war which must be removed before the country can be restored, and that cause is indifference to our rights, indifference to our liberties, and want of an elevated wisdom that could understand the duties of American citizenship. When you have gained this, peace will be restored; institutions that made us but three short years ago the most glorious nation on the face of the earth will be reinvigorated, and the respect of the world regained. When we have again restored that virtue and that intelligence, our country will again be restored to its former greatness, and to its former glory. (Great applause.) But, my friends, any thing short of this will disappoint your hopes. No victory can restore greatness, and glory, and power to a people who are unworthy of liberty. No peace will bring back prosperity to a land which can not understand the great principles upon which governments should be conducted, and the great objects for which they are instituted. But, my friends, I must close. ("Go on! Go on!") Let us now, upon this sad and solemn, as well as glorious occasion, rededicate ourselves to the service of our country in pure and fervent pa-

triotism, putting aside all partisan passions and prejudices, and preparing ourselves to assert and maintain the great principles stated in the Declaration of Independence, and secured to us by the provisions of the Constitution of the United States. Let us resolve from this time on to do our duty, and demand our rights. (Immense applause.) So far as they are acting in the sphere of their constitutional power, let us be obedient to rulers, let us submit cheerfully, patiently, and willingly to those commands which they have a right to issue, whether we like them or not. When we have done this, let us claim our rights in all their fullness, and in all their perfection.

He who does not do his duty without regard to the misconduct of others is untrue to his country. He who does not claim his rights is false to liberty and to humanity. (Applause.) Our pathways are clear before us if we will but accept the wise teachings of our fathers. From this time let us resolve that we will uphold all the just powers of the general government, the rights of the States (applause) and of persons, and, above all, as their best and surest shield, the independence and purity of the judiciary. (Applause.) We stand to-day amid new-made graves; in a land filled with mourning, upon a soil saturated with the blood of the fiercest conflict of which history gives us an account. We can, if we will, avert all these calamities, and evoke a blessing. If we will do what? Hold that Constitution, and liberties, and laws are suspended—shrink back from the assertion of right? Will that restore them? Or shall we do as our fathers did under circumstances of like trial, when they combated against the powers of a crown? They did not say that liberty was suspended; that men might be deprived of the right of trial by jury; that they might be torn from their homes by midnight intruders! (Tremendous and continued applause.)

If you would save your country and your liberties, begin right; begin at the hearthstones, which are ever meant to be the foundations of American institutions; begin in your family circle; declare that your privileges shall be held sacred; and having once proclaimed your own rights, take care that you do not invade those of your neighbor. (Applause.) Claim for your own States that jurisdiction and that government which you, better than all others, can exercise for yourselves, for you best know your own interests, and that which will do the most to advance the happiness and prosperity of your country. All the lessons of political wisdom are very few and very simple; they are, for men to respect their own rights and those of others. (Great applause.) They are to declare that the great principles of government were not holiday affairs, meant merely for a period of calm; but that they are great truths that can battle a storm as well. When we have determined this, as I said before, we can hope that our country will be restored to its former greatness and former glory. Once more, then, you, my Republican friends—once more, this whole community, I invoke you to ask yourselves whether, in giving way to your passions and prejudices, you will not endanger your own safety and your own homes? Once more I ask those who are politically opposed to me, if I am honored with the attendance of one such, that they will inquire if, in attempting to strike down my liberties, they have not struck a blow at their own also? (Great applause.) I ask all such if they can hope to stop the mighty ball of revolution precisely at that point which may suit their passions, their prejudices, and their purposes, and if they declare that laws and constitutions have lost their virtue to defend us, have they not equally lost their virtue to defend them?

The eloquent speech of Ex-Governor SEYMOUR, of Conn., we are obliged to omit, not being able to procure the manuscript in time.

Governor PARKER was called away by telegram during the first speech.

HON. GEORGE H. PENDLETON'S ADDRESS.

MR. PRESIDENT—FELLOW-CITIZENS : It is related of the Italian peasant who visited Rome in the days of its imperial splendor, that he fled to his country home, dismayed at his dwarfed proportions in comparison with the magnificence and magnitude of all about him. I can participate in his feelings to-day. I would shrink from addressing you in view of the comparison which will naturally arise between myself and the eminent gentlemen who speak with me, if I did not know that you intend to give to-day a practical demonstration of the equal rights of all citizens, and under the protecting wing of the sovereignty of your noble State, and in the presence of your Governor, to vindicate, even in behalf of the humblest, the right of free speech, and to declare in tones which will penetrate executive mansions, that, as Congress can not legally, so any other power shall not illegally abridge that right. (Cheers.) It has been said that the character of a people might be known by its ballads. I think, in this prosaic age, a surer test is to be found in their national fête-days. France celebrates the days which her great Napoleon has stamped on history because they minister to her quenchless thirst for military glory. England recalls to the memory of her sons the days illustrious in her ecclesiastical reforms, because she prefers beyond all the glories of Cressy, and Agincourt, and Waterloo, to be called the leader of Protestantism in Europe. We have but this one national day. I have been told that in New England homes they garner up the memories of past pleasures on Thanks giving-days. We, in the West, do homage to the birth of Washington, and to the achievements of that grand old patriot, Andrew Jackson. This day alone, in all our history, commands general celebration, because we have been hitherto content to be known as the people who were willing to incur the perils of revolution to test the truth of a preamble, and its falsity being settled, to limit the aspirations and movements of our Federal Government to the written permissions of a written Constitution.

(Applause.) It is indeed Independence Day, but custom has consecrated its festivities also in honor of the Constitution and the Union. We celebrate it, indeed, because it was the first step in our separate existence; but much more, I think, because succeeding years have vindicated the wisdom of that revolution, whose consummation was had in the establishment of our confederated government. You remember, gentlemen, full well the history of those times. We might learn from them lessons of wisdom for present use. The war waged against the Colonies by Great Britain produced the cohesion of the Colonies. When the war ceased, the cohesion relaxed, and was in danger of being entirely destroyed. The States met in convention as sovereign communities to adopt a form of confederation which should accomplish its purpose without interfering with their great duty of protection of the life, liberty and property of their citizens. Their wisdom evolved our federal Union; but their prudence induced them to reaffirm the great principles of personal liberty which had been incorporated in the organism of their State governments. They proclaimed aloud—and the declaration secured the adoption of the Constitution—that no man shall be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; that Congress shall make no law to abridge the freedom of speech or the press, or the right to bear arms, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble. (Applause.) These principles were the spirit of immortal life. The Union was the body in which and by which they were to be applied to the uses of men. Your Committee has well understood this. They have made it part of their celebration to read the guarantees of the Constitution—guarantees of personal liberty, of freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of ballot; safety for life, liberty, and property. These, gentlemen, are essential to free government. There can be no free government without them. There can be no free government without free elections—there can be no free elections

without deliberation—there can be no free deliberation without free speech; there can be no free speech if prison-bars and banishment are the rewards of its exercise. (Applause.) And yet we are told that it is necessary to violate these rights in order to preserve the national life. They constitute the national life; they mark its identity. Without them that life ceases to be. You might as well talk of saving a man's life by taking away his upright form, his living soul, and reducing him to a brute. You might as well talk of preserving the wise and bold and hopeful and vigorous man, when you reduce him to a raving maniac or a gibbering idiot. I speak warmly upon this subject. I have seen the operation of this doctrine. I have seen a citizen of my own State torn from his home at the dead hour of night—his house broken into—his family terrified; himself carried to Cincinnati to a military prison, and after a sham trial, before an illegal tribunal, sentenced to a punishment unknown to our law. His only offense was that he loved his country well, and was brave enough to stand even against the Administration, in hope of maintaining the Constitution as it is, and restoring the Union as it was (Cheers.) He is to-day in exile, but he will have his reward. If to deserve success will secure it, we will place him in honor and power, alongside of your worthy Governor here, and of him who ought to have been Governor of Connecticut. (Immense cheering.) As your chairman has already told you, I am one of the representatives of the democracy of Ohio, accredited to Abraham Lincoln, and commanded to deliver this message: Obey the Constitution; respect the guarantees of personal liberty; restore our citizen to his home. If you have aught against him, try him by jury, on an indictment, and if he is convicted, punish him. And now, returning from that mission, I have this to say to you, that if the doctrines which are obstinately asserted by men in high place, who have their hand on the hilt of the drawn sword, are to prevail, the first question for you will be, not whether you will have peace or war, but whether you have a free government, whether

you are free men, whether you have a right to an opinion, and to express it, by means of that free but silent ballot which "executes the freeman's will as lightnings do the will of God."

They tell us that the suppression of free speech and personal rights is necessary to a vigorous prosecution of the war. Is this true? The history of the war of 1812 and of the Mexican war disprove it. It would be a libel on the names of our fathers to assert that this Constitution, the child of revolution, the offspring of men who had just tried the perils of seven years of war, was intended to be for times of peace only, and not for times of war. But if it be true, and the suppression of personal liberty is necessary for the successful prosecution of the war, then I say, that the war ought to be instantly stopped. [Immense, long-continued applause.] Its most successful prosecution, the utmost benefits which its friends in their highest flights of fancy have ever claimed, can not compensate to any of us for the loss of personal liberty. And here I can not refrain from calling your attention to the fact that the men who assert this opinion now most warmly belong to one of two classes—those who two years and more ago said there would be no war; that we Union-savers were timid; that, to use the classic language of His Excellency, President Lincoln, "nobody is hurt," or those who agreed with the bloody and brutal doctrine of a Western Senator, that without a "little blood-letting the Union would not be worth a curse." The Union not worth a curse!!! What is the Union? Not a government antecedent to the existence of the States, as Mr. Lincoln asserted, but a confederation made by sovereign independent States, each one of which was endowed with all the powers of sovereignty, and charged with the duty of the care of its own citizens. The Union is only the representative in the family of nations of all these States. They retain their original powers, except as they have consented for a time to part with them. This Union has its counterpart in the vegetable world. There seems to be one perfect indivisible plant. Break the upper rind and

there are many parts, each perfect in itself, having separate roots, which, though closely intertwined, may be easily separated, and thus present a perfect plant, ready in good time to produce another as sound, symmetrical, and compact as the former. So with the States. They delegated certain powers to secure a representation in the world of nations, but they retained all their other powers. They are held compactly together by the band of those delegated powers; but if it shall be broken, you will find the separated States perfect in their machinery of government, able to preserve order and secure the rights of their citizens, and abundantly able to renew the forms of the old Union, or to reconstruct it on the ancient foundation, or to build up a new confederation, as nearly like the old as possible, and able to rival its surpassing glories. [Cheers] And why may we not have now the benefit of this united wisdom and power applied to this great question of reconstruction? Why not now call a sovereign Convention to settle this question? I speak not for those whom my voice can not reach, who have erected just now between us and them a wall of glistening bayonets: I ask those who are in power here at home—our rulers in the Federal Government, and their adherents in the North—why not have now a sovereign Convention? Because they would not compromise with Rebels with arms in their hands. Not compromise! Compromise is the first law of combination—I had almost said of nature. It is the law of all society, all government, all united action. Partners in business compromise; the members of church societies compromise; members of political, religious, charitable, useful societies compromise. Kings compromise with each other; they compromise with their subjects or lose them. Wars end by compromise—the family circle is a compromise. Husbands compromise with their wives; fathers compromise with their disobedient children; and if our holy religion is true, God Almighty compromised with man when he accepted in his behalf the atonement of his Son; and shall we refuse to do what nature, reason, reli-

gion, and history all command, because our bad passions are aroused, and we are told it would be cowardly to treat with avowed traitors? [Cheers.] Our Government was all a compromise. Three times the Convention at Philadelphia was ready to give up in despair, and three times the pleading, warning voices of Washington, Franklin, and Madison urged them to compromise their differences. They did so. They formed the Constitution, which created the Union. This was the great compromise. Let us stand by it firmly, my friends, and to the end. I participate in the hope so beautifully expressed by Governor Seymour of Connecticut, that all will yet be well. It can only be by adhering to the great compromise: stand by it, adhere to it, faithfully perform it in all parts; you, this audience—every man in his sphere—do your duty by it, urge your neighbors, your city, your State—the Northern States—to do theirs. Do not look after the South until you have eradicated the doctrine that the Administration and the North will violate it in order to have power to compel the South to observe it; that the Administration will destroy our Constitutional rights that it may vigorously prosecute a war to enforce its unconstitutional policy. [Cheers.] But stand by it in all integrity. It is the ark of our safety now. Let us revere it as the Jews did the Ark of the Covenant of God. Let us trust to it now while we are in the shadow of the dark valley, as well as when we were in the full daylight of prosperity. And then I confidently hope, that in God's good time, when peace shall have prevailed and mourning shall have ceased, and widows' weeds shall have been laid aside, and orphans' tears shall be dried, and new-made graves shall have grown green, there shall arise from this whole land, without the loss of a single State, from all its people North and South in fraternal union, an anthem of joy the like of which has not been heard since on Judean plains, on the natal morn, angels announced the coming of the Great Messiah: "Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good-will to men."

ADDRESS OF RICHARD O'GORMAN, ESQ.

It has been thought desirable, fellow-citizens, that, after the more important business of the day was done—after you had heard what counsel should be given you by the distinguished gentlemen who have visited you from other parts of this State, and from other States—some one, a resident of your own city, should say to you a few words at parting. Why I have been chosen for this duty it is hard to say; unless it be because I am, like yourselves, a mere simple citizen—wearing no party honors—wearing no party fetters—accustomed to speak my own mind—and whose sayings, if, by chance, wise, may do good to others; but if not wise, can do little hurt to any one but myself. (Applause.)

You have heard to-day, first of all, the proud voice from the brave days of old, the voice of your heroic fathers telling you what were the liberties for which they fought, and what were the liberties they bequeathed to you. You have heard the voice of the Governor of the State of New York, calm, prudent, bold, as becomes the first officer of a sovereign State of four millions of people, and a territory as large as Great Britain. (Cheers.) Next you heard the voice of the gentleman who is not, but ought to be Governor of Connecticut. (Loud cheers.) Gov. Parker, of New-Jersey, did not speak to you, but was present; and in the persons of these three gentlemen, these three States have taken hands, and here to-day vowed that there should be for them and their people one policy—to secure the Union as long as it is possible to secure the Union, but our liberties at all events and at all hazards. (Great applause.) Before the Union was, these liberties were inherent and inalienable. They were not given to us by the Union, not granted to us by any parchment, but God gave them to every brave and honest man upon the earth, and of these principles the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution were simply declaratory.

(Applause.) You heard that the citizens of the State of Ohio had awakened to a sense of the deep injury and wrong done to each of them, in the person of Mr. Vallandigham, and the voice of Mr. Pendleton, their representative before you, reëchoing from here, will awaken among them a new sense of conviction that in the defense of the Constitution and the law, and the liberties they guarantee, New-York will be ready with her assistance. (Applause.) True, we are in great danger; the greater, therefore, should be our courage. We have not been awake to our danger. With what horror would it fill us to see a boat about being swept over the falls of Niagara, while the crew, blind to their danger, waste time in wrangling and quarreling and carouse; but to see a nation, great though young, bearing on its head the crown of unexampled prosperity, inheriting all European civilization, Law, Liberty, and Religion, to see that nation with its own insane hands tearing its own breast and glorying in the wounds it inflicts, is a sight to make the angels weep. There are very few really disloyal men in the nation, and the disloyal men are not always to be found in the places where we are mostly told to look for them. (Applause.) That man who, in an hour of peril like this, prefers the interests of himself or his party to the interests of the country, whether he be in the cabinet, the counting-house, or the field, is disloyal, (applause;) and the man who strives honestly, and to the extent of his intelligence, to do his duty as a citizen toward his country, and in the discharge of that duty tells publicly what he believes to be the truth, that man, though he be found in Fort Lafayette, is a loyal man. (Great applause.) Now, fellow-citizens, words ought to be used in their proper meanings. Do not suppose that you are dealing with an insurrection or rebellion—the movement at the South is no disorderly element of disaffected citizens. It has grown

beyond that. It is the uprising of a whole people, and confronts us now in all the stature of civil war. Once it was a mere insurrection—there was very little Union in the South, but we made them united, and more shame for us. (Applause.)

We here at the North adopted the disgraceful policy of bringing home war to the doors of unarmed and defenseless citizens. There were many at the South who looked upon the old Union with love and reverence, and hoped again to see the old flag wave over them, but we have made that flag to them an emblem of pillage, havoc, and ruin, and implanted in their hearts a heritage of bitter and imperishable hatred. Though I should stand alone, I will, for the honor of this nation among nations, raise my voice in protest against this disgraceful and uncivilized warfare. (Great applause.) It is no apology to say that the Southern soldiers have done wrong in burning our fishing ships; let them be reproved for their wrong; but let us not lay the flattering unction to our souls that by denouncing them, our own sins can be kept hidden from the eyes of watchful nations—from my heart do I wish that they could be. The South is united, and their armies are marching upon us; who knows but their cannon are now hurling death among those dear to us on the soil of Pennsylvania! In what condition are we? dissimulated, discordant. The people not trusting the Government, and the Government not trusting the people, no two men agreeing as to what is or what ought to be the object for which we are fighting. If this continues there is nothing for us but disgraceful defeat. How are the people of the North to become united. The Government has its own plan, and it is exceedingly simple, if it could be carried into effect. It is simply this. That all the people in the North are to concur with the opinion of the Republican party, or retire to the Dry Tortugas. This plan of securing unanimity is expressed exceedingly well in the phrase of unconditional loyalty. It means that you must discuss no public question unless you discuss it in a

tone favorable to the Government and the Republican party. When there is a discussion you must not remain silent, as the President says you must declare in favor of the Government and its actions, whether you like them or not. You must read just what papers the Government likes; you must get what telegrams from the war that the Government concocts; you must get so much and so little information about what is most dear to you, the success of your armies, and the fate of your own brethren, precisely as the Government chooses to give. The Government will be a father to you and you will be as little children—open your mouth and shut your eyes, and see if heaven won't send you a prize. (Great laughter.)

Now that little nursery plan was from time to time tried in Europe. There was a monarch who made that experiment in France some time ago, and he could not get his people to agree with him in every thing—they had one will, and he had another; and the plan that he adopted to secure unanimity was to send as many as he thought proper to a place called the Bastille. Now, possibly you remember that he continued that, until the people, long apathetic, were at last stung into resistance, and they walked up with their unarmed breasts to the Bastille, and tore it down, stone by stone, and swept the foul thing from the face of the earth. (Great cheering.) And that reminds me of a little story. (Laughter.) The key of the Bastille was sent by General Lafayette to General Washington, who accepted it as a token of the victory of freedom over despotism, and he hung it up in Mount Vernon. I have heard that that key is missing, (laughter,) and I am credibly informed that an experiment has been made in the depth of the midnight, and that it exactly fits the lock of Fort Lafayette. (Laughter and cheers.)

The experiment was once made also in England. There was once upon a time a king there who had a will of his own, and a minister who was disposed to help him. The king was Charles the First—the minister was Thomas Wentworth, Lord

Strafford. They inaugurated a system of unconditional loyalty that they called "Thorough." The king willed one thing and the people another, and there was no compromise between them; and the result was that the king lost the people, and the people lost the king, because they beheaded him. I can not help thinking that Mr. Seward had that transaction before his mind in the remarkable conversation he is reported to have had with Lord Lyons on the fourteenth of September, 1861. "My lord," he is reported to have said, "I can touch a bell on my right hand and order the arrest of a citizen of Ohio." He did it. (Laughter.) "I can touch the bell again and order the arrest of a citizen of New-York." He can not do it. (Tremendous and continued applause. A voice: "Three cheers for Governor Seymour; he can not do it," given enthusiastically.) "Can the Queen of England in her dominions do as much?" She can not do it. The English people love the royal lady that now occupies the throne of England, and they are a loyal people; but in spite of their loyalty she dare not attempt it, and they would not let her. Ah! that little bell! I think I hear it tinkling still, and the sound becoming louder and louder, until it begins to boom along and grows into a tocsin, at the sound of which the citizens of America shall awake and secure their liberties forever. (Tremendous applause.) It is useless for the Government to attempt to stifle discussion. Discussion must be had either in public or in secret, and secret discussion is dangerous, and leads to conspiracy. Open discussion makes patriots and heroes—it is secret whispering, dark plotting that makes traitors and cowards. Let our discussions of national questions be open and public, and kindly, too. Let all fair allowances be made for the difficulties of the Government. But let discussion be fearless. The sacred right to grumble should be defended at all hazards. Secrecy is unmanly. If any thing disgraces the American people, if any thing will unman them in the face of the enemy, it is their craven fear of Fort Lafayette. (Applause.) But what are we to discuss?

Are we to question one another whether we are or are not for the "vigorous prosecution of the war, for the preservation of the Union"? I denounce that phrase as a delusion, a snare, a trap. I deny that there is any war for the preservation of the Union. Union does not come from war, but only subjugation, submission. We may subdue the South to the condition of Poland, but if we do, we must make of ourselves a Russia. Our talk of Union and liberty will be as hollow as the dispatch, "Order reigns in Warsaw," uttered when freedom lay in its death-agonies, bleeding, mangled, crushed, and hopeless. It is not possible, under the free form of our Government, to hold one half of it in subjection to another. If we mean that, we must get rid of the Constitution—if the South is to be subdued by our arms—it is the destruction of the republican government of this country. (Applause.) I do not like that talk about the vigorous prosecution of the war. I am not sure I know what it means. I heard a person the other day say he was in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, of hanging Northern "Copperheads," or carrying the war to the homes of the rebels—in fact, as he concluded with a climax of martial feeling, he would rather fight than eat. I ventured to suggest that the general preference of humanity was in favor of eating, (laughter,) whereupon he gave me an indignant scowl, and deigning no reply, he strode away. I asked a bystander to what regiment the gallant captain belonged. "Oh!" said he, "he is not a captain, he is not an officer in the army at all, he is a contractor." (Great laughter and applause.) In his case "vigorous prosecution of the war" means vigorous filling of his own pockets. So it is generally; you will find that those who are most eager for the prosecution of the war, are those who are making money by it, and those who talk most about fighting do the least of it. Some of you, perhaps, know that so far as I am concerned, I condemn this war, that I deplore it, that I consider it a reckless waste of heroic blood. (Loud applause.) I have lifted up my voice

for peace when I thought peace possible, and I believe, that from time to time, during the last two years of war, an honorable peace, an honorable compromise, would have been possible; but now that the war is in its agony, that we are in the grip and struggle of the fight — now that the enemy is upon the soil of a neighboring State, it is no use to speak of peace. When this struggle is over, then will my voice again be heard for peace, for compromise; but to-day all I can say is: "God defend the right." (Continued applause.)

The Government of the United States has been to a great extent unfortunately a government of party, and the present Administration is particularly open to that objection. I have remarked in the policy of the Republican party a tendency, I believe, inconsistent with a republican form of government. This policy is centralization — taking away rights from municipalities, States, and individuals, and gathering them adroitly to one centre. Now, the principle on which the American Union is founded is precisely the reverse of that. The principle of the Union is diversity, State Sovereignty, State rights. (Great applause.) Centralization is Imperialism. Centralization is despotism: State rights is freedom. (Cheers.) And when I am asked to increase the power of the Government, and the party that governs it, by placing armies in their hands, over which they have complete and supreme control, I confess I fear much that under the pretext of restoring the Union, we are strengthening the hands of those whose policy tends to destroy our liberties. Do you ask what then is to be done? I say the first thing to be done is to arm the State of New-York. (Great applause.) Arm it, and arm it at once. The course is safe, and can harm nobody. The Governor will do his duty, and if he wants money, let him get it by free and voluntary subscription. Let the State be armed and the soldiers drilled and disciplined, (a voice: "And commanded by State rights men,") commanded by their constitutional and lawful Commander-in-Chief, the Governor of the State. (Loud applause.)

Then we will be ready for our own protection. Then we will be ready to fulfill all our legal obligations to the Federal Government. The State of New-York has never proved recreant to its duty to the Federal Government, and it will not do so now. A few days ago the Governor of the State of Pennsylvania called for help to resist an invasion, and the Governor of New-York sent men to help them almost before the Pennsylvanians had awakened to a sense of their imminent danger. (Applause.) Let our soldiers be drilled, then, not merely for parades in the streets, but in camps of instruction, and let them be prepared as men to defend the rights of our State. When that is done we will need no longer provost-marshal in New-York; it will be no longer necessary for gallant officers to be fretting their glorious souls in contentions with old women, and testing the authenticity of cripples, (laughter,) while they might be winning fame with their swords in the field. It is a shame for the State of New-York to put the Federal Government to the expense and trouble of a conscription here. Let the State, as a State, raise such troops as the Federal Government has the right to ask of her. (Cheers.) There is no blinking the fact that the union of these States may possibly be destroyed. I do not believe it will be destroyed. I hope that God, who guided its discovery and settlement, and has thus far prospered us, will not desert us in the hour of our trial. But although the Union may fall, liberty may be preserved, and the State may be sovereign yet. (Cheers.) Have we not four millions of people, a great territory, bounded on one side by the vast ocean, and on another by the lakes, with harbors, railroads, and canals; and can we not lift this State high enough above the troubled waters to be a freehold for humanity forever? (Applause.) Do not suppose that a vast territory is necessary for freedom. Attica was scarce larger than this little island on which we stand, yet think how great and glorious, how rich and strong, was its life, and what it has done for the world. In the midst of des-

potic nations, rich in territories and in population, it was free, and has outlived them all. Where now are Nineveh, Carthage, and Tyre? They are gone; their language is forgotten, and almost their place upon the earth. Go to Athens, and there you will still see the old Acropolis lifting up to the sun its diadem of pillars, bidding mankind come there and learn how immortal are the fruits of liberty. I hear many men nowadays speak in favor of a "strong government." What do men mean by a strong government? a dictatorship, an oligarchy? These are the weakest forms of government; a dictatorship is sure to result in repeated revolution. This American people will not submit to the irresponsible government of one man. An oligarchy leads to socialism, to anarchy, and disorder. You have no ground-work here, on which to build an aristocracy, no prestige of antiquity supports it. It would be here an aristocracy of mere wealth, and such an aristocracy is in contradiction to all the traditions and habits of thought of the American People. It is folly to call these "strong governments." There is but one form of government that is strong, that is permanent and secure. It is that which rests on the will of its citizens. (Great cheering.) As Athens was of old, let New-York be still. Let us protect to the last the inalienable rights of citizens; let us stand by ourselves, and God will stand by us. I think we have an official at the head of our State that is fit to lead our State and guide it aright; I, for one, have confidence in Horatio Seymour. (Applause.) Let us do our duty by him; let us remember that each State in its inherent sovereignty is independent in itself. Then we are for the Union as long as it can be supported, but we are for our liberties at all events, and in defense of those liberties, in defense of the Constitution, of Law and Order, "we pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor." (Great applause.)